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THE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE SOUTH-AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

BY REV. FRANCIS E. CLARK, D.D., LL.D.

SOUTH AMERICA is usually regarded by the North-American, in his continental provincialism, as a congeries of little states, which, if they are worth studying at all, will be found to have very much the same history, traditions, resources and language, differing from each other little more than the States of the great North-American Republic.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. They are separated from each other by barriers as high and distinct as those which keep the Spaniards from amalgamating with the French, and which insure the integrity and individuality of such nations as Switzerland, Sweden and Holland. Even in the matter of language, though the southern continent is spoken of as "Latin America," it is by no means a unit, nor is it a Spanish-speaking continent. It might as well be called a Portuguese-speaking continent, for Brazil occupies fully half the country and contains more than half the population of South America, and Portuguese and not Spanish is the language of every citizen of Brazil. There, too, Portuguese and not Spanish customs, Portuguese and not Spanish architecture prevail, and the impress of King John and not of Ferdinand and Isabella is seen in the customs and the habits of the people.

But the Spanish-speaking republics differ almost as much from one another as they do from Portuguese Brazil, and it is as inaccurate to lump Peru and Venezuela or Chile and Colombia together as to consider Mexico and Massachusetts or Canada and Louisiana close kindred States.

Nature seems to have chosen to separate the two sides of South America, and to establish between them almost impassable bar-

riers. There are no such lofty mountain ranges in North America, and no such impenetrable forests or vast stretches of malarial swamp to defy the railroad builder, the trolley-line contractor or the automobile owner. After all these centuries of occupation by Europeans, there is only one practicable route across South America, and the two ends of that are not yet joined by rail. One can go from Valparaiso on the Pacific coast to Buenos Ayres on the Atlantic in something like forty-eight hours, but it is still a hard and toilsome journey, with some six hours of difficult coaching over the crest of the Andes. Nowhere else is it yet possible to cross the continent from east to west, except at great expense of time and toil.

Thus it has come about that the west coast is as little known to the east coast, or the east coast to the majority of the people on the west coast, as North America and North-Americans are known to the people of our twin continent to the south. Indeed, I have no doubt that many countries in Europe, like Great Britain, Germany, Spain and France, are far better known to many of the people on the east coast of South America than their neighbors across the Andes on the west coast.

At several places in Ecuador, Peru and Chile one can penetrate for a few hundred miles from the Pacific Ocean into the interior, but the railroads that afford ingress into the interior have been built at enormous cost and only by overcoming the greatest engineering difficulties, for the Andes come close to the east shore for thousands of miles, and, after traversing a short, level plain, the roads begin to climb and climb; twelve thousand, fourteen thousand and almost fifteen thousand feet before they come to any opening that will enable them to pierce the Andes and reach the mines of gold and silver and copper and tin which have so successfully hidden their treasure behind these mighty ramparts.

When the railroads reach the mines they suddenly stop. There is as yet little inducement for them to extend their rails through the tropical jungles that lead to the Atlantic shore. Thus it will be seen that communication is difficult and necessarily rare between the two coasts. A few hundred people a week, at the most, may cross the continent from Argentina to Chile or in the reverse direction, whereas in North America hundreds of loaded trains, day and night, are rushing across the fertile fields and through the easy passes of the Rocky Mountains, weaving

with their shuttles innumerable threads of communication between the two sides of our own continent.

A railway is now projected and in process of construction by way of La Paz, Bolivia, from the Pacific to the Atlantic, but it will be several years at least before this is open to traffic.

The differences in climate and productions between the east and the west sides of South America are most striking. They seem to have been meant for different races of men. The west coast is dry and arid for thousands of miles, from the northern edge of Peru well down toward the southern edge of Chile, and is almost absolutely rainless. All foodstuffs must either be raised by laborious irrigation or brought from the interior to the coast. As a consequence, the people on the west coast derive their living largely from the mines and from the products of the sea. Gold and silver, tin and copper, nitrate and guano, keep the wheels of commerce moving and furnish the raw material for their wealth.

Cross the mountains, however, and you will find yourself in another world. The dry, rainless coasts of Peru and Chile give place to the luxuriousness of Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Gold and silver and other metals are no longer sought to any considerable extent, but wheat and corn and cattle and coffee supply the wealth that any empire might covet. The mining population gives place to an agricultural people, and in the market-places and cafés one no longer hears of "pay streaks" and of "good color," but he hears the price of coffee, the yield of wheat to the acre and the value of hides and horns discussed.

Not only is it true that the east and the west coasts of South America have an individuality of their own, but each republic has its own traditions, its own problems, its own peculiarities and its own peculiar patriotism which considers no flag quite so precious as that which floats over its own soil, poor and insignificant as the republic may seem in the eyes of the rest of the world.

PANAMA.

It is worth while to consider each republic by itself, if we would know South America as it is. Beginning with Panama, on the north, she is fitly characterized as "the Country of the Great Ditch," for there is little besides the canal to give her a place upon the map of the world. To be sure, she has had a history which, in romantic interest, is out of all proportion to her size, for she was the "Snug Harbor" of adventurers and pirates and

Spanish freebooters for centuries before the French and Americans set to work in good earnest to cut her territory in two. The City of Panama at one time was the richest city on the face of the globe, for here the buccaneers brought the wealth of the Incas, and the hundreds of millions of gold and silver ravaged from the temples and palaces of Peru and Ecuador, at least for a time, were stored in this city on the western side of Panama.

In spite of an interesting and checkered history, the future of Panama promises to be a more righteous if not a more interesting history than the past has been. Through the persistent vigilance of Colonel W. C. Gorgas, the disease-bearing mosquito has been banished, and with it has gone the immemorial twin curses of Panama, yellow fever and malaria. To-day, compared with what it has been in all the past ages, it may be regarded as an American health resort.

People of the United States, for the most part, do not yet realize that ours is now a South-American power, for since we own the strip of land five miles wide on either side of the canal this ten-mile strip, to all intents and purposes, is as much a part of the United States as the land on either side of the Erie Canal. The rights of the United States were defined by the treaty signed at Washington in 1903 as follows:

“The Republic of Panama grants to the United States in perpetuity the use, occupation, and control of the land and land under water for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said canal of a width of ten miles extending to the distance of five miles on each side of the centre line of the route of the canal to be constructed. . . . The Republic of Panama grants to the United States all the rights, power and authority within the zone . . . which the United States would possess and exercise if it were the sovereign of the territory . . . to the entire exclusion of the exercise by the Republic of Panama of any such sovereign right, power and authority.”

Besides this, we have rights over any other land or water that may be “necessary or convenient for the construction, maintenance, operation, sanitation and protection of said canal.” “This gives us a right” (which has been used) “to quell insurrections, to put down any serious disturbance, to enter every house in Colon or Panama, to inspect and reform its sanitary condition and to do about anything that needs to be done.” Thus, to all intents and purposes, the most important ribbon of land in the Republic of Panama belongs to the United States. Its occupation was

forced upon us by the necessities of the canal and does not indicate any hankering on the part of the American people for other South-American possessions.

COLOMBIA.

The Republic of Colombia shares with Panama the distinction of having a front door upon two oceans. With harbors on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, one would think that she might be a great maritime power and a serious factor among the nations of the world; but, as a matter of fact, Colombia lives the hermit life. With harbors on the east coast that Bolivia or such countries as Russia or even Montenegro would bankrupt themselves to obtain, Colombia is content to have for her capital, inaccessible Bogatá, more than a week's journey, over an almost impassable trail, from the seacoast. No wonder that the outlying portions of the republic have felt that their connection with the republic was largely nominal, and that Panama was very glad when the psychological moment came to set up housekeeping for herself.

Yet Colombia has great resources, and with a progressive government and an educated people might become one of the great nations of the world. Like so many of the other South-American republics, she has been cursed with an unstable government, and selfish men have played politics throughout all her history for their own personal advantage. She has gone from the extreme of asserted state rights to an absolute dictatorship and has suffered from all the possible varieties of government between these extremes. Some fifty years ago Colombia adopted a new constitution, the sixth she had enjoyed in thirty years. The name was changed from "New Granada" to "the United States of Colombia," which was then made up of nine independent states. One article of the constitution declared that "when one sovereign state of the union shall be at war with another, or the citizens of any state shall be at war among themselves, the national Government is obligated to preserve the strictest neutrality." It was also provided in this constitution that, "in naming the eight generals provided for by the constitution, from whom must be chosen the commander-in-chief of the army, all Colombians over twenty-one years of age shall be considered generals of the republic." The constant civil wars which would result from such extreme views of state rights could easily be predicted, and after a score

of years, during which there had been almost as many revolutions, a strong man, Raphael Nunez by name, became practically the dictator, and the United States of Colombia became the Republic of Colombia with a strong federal government. She has made but little progress and is one of the two or three comparatively hopeless and impossible nations of the southern hemisphere.

ECUADOR.

Ecuador, perhaps, may also count in this class, though she shows some signs of waking up from the sleep of ages. Guayaquil is so constantly infested with yellow fever that passengers, unless they desire to stay there, are frequently not allowed to land; but there is now on foot a movement to fight the mosquitoes and to transform this great port from a pest-house into a safe habitat of the human race, as Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Panama have been transformed. A railway has also been built from Guayaquil to Quito, and the capital city, nearly two miles above the sea, can no longer be said to be "one hundred years behind the moon," as the people of Guayaquil used to say. It is still called "the little mother of the Pope," and it is said that every fourth person you meet is a priest, a nun or an ecclesiastic of some sort; but doubtless this distinction will be lost in the progress of the years.

PERU.

Peru may justly be characterized "the Republic of Misfortune," for defeat and disaster have dogged her footsteps from the days of Pizarro until very recent times. Her early recorded history has been one of bloodshed and rapine almost inconceivable. The forty millions of people who inhabited the uplands of Peru and Ecuador were reduced, in less than a century of the awful misrule of the Spanish, to less than a million people. In spite of the natural increase, nearly ninety-eight per cent. of the people perished through violence and misrule. When at last she was able to throw off the Spanish yoke, she recovered something of her old prestige, and to this day you can see the dignified carriage and the proud bearing of the Incas of old in their decimated descendants who still occupy her vast mountain plateau.

But yet her troubles were not over. Revolution succeeded revolution, and at last in 1879 Chile, coveting her rich nitrate-fields, made war upon her and her ally Bolivia. It was a most un-

righteous war, unrighteously carried on, but Victory, for a time at least, perched on the standards of might and not of right. Peru was defeated on land and sea. Her navy was destroyed. Her capital, Lima, was sacked. Her richest territories were annexed to Chile, and she was humiliated in every possible way. But Peru learned the lesson of misfortune and grew strong by reason of her disasters. She curtailed her expenses, sought to develop her own great resources, built railroads and opened mines, established her currency on a gold basis, so that now she is the only republic in South America whose undepreciated currency is the hard metal, not even represented by bank bills of any sort.

Take it all in all, Peru is to-day a more prosperous and happy nation than ever she has been in the last four centuries of recorded history, with a still brighter prospect before her, while her successful rival, Chile, as we shall see, like the young spendthrift who comes too soon into a great inheritance, has lost much of what she gained of war and is now suffering from troubles unknown to her vanquished rival.

BOLIVIA.

Bolivia may be designated "the Isolated and the Turbulent." Since the recent war with Chile, when she sided with Peru, she has been stripped of her last yard of seacoast, and now there is no way of entering this great republic of the plateau,—the third largest in all South America, a country that covers a territory larger than France, Belgium and Holland combined,—except through alien territory. Mollendo in Peru and Antofagasta in Chile, which are rivals for the unhappy distinction of being the worst ports in the world—indeed, mere open roadsteads—furnish the only access to Bolivia.

Then one must journey for two days and two nights, crossing the Andes at an elevation almost as high as the top of Mont Blanc in order to reach La Paz, the capital. If one goes by way of Mollendo, Lake Titicaca furnishes another barrier to the traveller. This largest lake in South America must be crossed, and some sixty miles on the other side lies the strangest capital in all the world. One travels along a lofty plateau, twelve thousand feet above the sea, with scarce a habitation in sight, until, suddenly, he comes to the edge of a vast precipice, and there far

below him, twelve hundred feet from the top of the great crater, lies a city of 70,000 inhabitants, with its cathedrals, its public buildings and its many red-tiled dwellings. Most of these people are Indians, either full-blooded or half-breeds, who rejoice in wearing all the colors of the rainbow at the same time. Joseph's "coat of many colors" was scarcely a circumstance to the gorgeous array of the women of La Paz.

Shut away as the people are from the other civilized nations of the world, and even removed by almost impassable barriers from other South-American countries, it is not strange that they should have developed peculiarities that make Bolivia distinct in its national life and ideals. It has been one of the most turbulent of all the South-American republics, revolution has succeeded revolution at regular intervals, many of them bloody and disastrous. At last things came to such a desperate pass in Bolivia that England withdrew her diplomatic representatives and has for many years had no legation at La Paz, the business being done by a consular agent. To-day, however, Bolivia is by no means the most backward of the South-American states. She leads Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador in her efforts for education and for the development of her resources. Her great copper and tin mines are wonderful magnets to draw the skill and wealth of the engineering world thither, and, in spite of many drawbacks and tremendous difficulties of access, Bolivia has doubtless a distinct and important place to fill in the sisterhood of nations.

CHILE.

If Peru is the "Republic of Misfortune," Chile may, with propriety, be called the "Fortunate Republic," for, from the beginning, she has suffered less from external attacks and internal dissensions than most of her immediate neighbors. There was little gold in her mountains to attract the cupidity of the Spanish adventurers, and Pizarro and his confrères happily left her severely alone. Her people were not killed or tortured, as were the Incas of Peru, and, though for centuries they were backward and unprogressive, they were comparatively unmolested. After a time, however, when the surface mines of Peru and Ecuador were largely exhausted, settlers turned their attention to Chile, and she had a rapid and normal development in many wealth-producing lines, chiefly agricultural and grazing. Her immi-

grants were not Spaniards alone, but English, Scotch and Germans formed a very considerable percentage of her earlier inhabitants, and they gave a stability and progressive character to the republic which few others have enjoyed. Some pages of the directories of Valparaiso and Santiago read not unlike the directories of London or Glasgow or Belfast. O'Higgins, Mackenna, Walker, Edwards, Prat, Tupper, MacClure, Ross, Cumming, Day, are still leading names, and in most of the larger towns and many smaller ones we see Edwards Street and Walker Street and Prat Plaza and O'Higgins Square. Her greatest ironclad was named for the dashing young Irish governor, "Bernardo O'Higgins"—or "Oeegins," as the Chileans pronounce it.

Perhaps tempted by her good fortune in the past and expecting an easy victory, Chile attacked the allies, Peru and Bolivia, in order to obtain the rich nitrate-fields in the provinces of Tacna and Arica. She gained her immediate object and without much difficulty, as has been said, conquered her two neighbors and seized the greatest source of their wealth. To-day she owns all the undeveloped nitrate-fields and holds the best of them at about \$2,000 an acre. It is believed that there is enough nitrate known to exist to last the world, at the present rate of consumption, for more than two hundred years.

In a single month, after Chile had captured the nitrate beds from Peru, her revenues had doubled. In other words, all her customs revenues on all other articles combined are not equal to her revenue from this one article, of which she annually exports more than \$30,000,000 worth. But her prosperity, as is often the case with individuals, was her undoing. She grew extravagant, her finances became unsettled, her people discontented, her easily acquired wealth was spent as easily, and her "get-rich-quick" plans landed her in the same orifice in which they have many an individual. Her currency is now greatly depreciated, and, though her recuperative powers are large, and she will doubtless regain her prestige, her ancient enemy, Peru, is to-day in better financial and industrial condition than the victor in the war of 1879.

ARGENTINA.

When we cross the Andes and come to Argentina, we find that the story of Cinderella the Princess has been almost literally repeated in the history of this great and prosperous republic. For many, many years, in the early centuries of the Spanish

dominion, Argentina was the despised and neglected sister of South America. She had no gold or silver to attract the adventurers; they were blind to her agricultural and commercial possibilities, and everything possible was done to build up the west coast states to the detriment of the east coast. A monopoly of trade was given to certain merchants of Cadiz, who made it a crime for any one to trade with Buenos Ayres, and decreed that all European exports and imports should be unloaded on the shore of the Isthmus of Panama, carried across the Isthmus, re-loaded, shipped down the west coast to Callao, nearly two thousand miles, again disembarked and carried by mules over the almost inaccessible Andean passes to Argentina. Of course goods thus sent could only be sold at prohibitive prices. For a full century this fatuous policy was continued, but still Buenos Ayres persisted in growing, and the trade on the River Plate increased, though of course it was largely a contraband trade.

Gradually these oppressive laws were relaxed, and the country was allowed to grow as it would, without any encouragement, however, from the home Government; and it was not until the very end of the eighteenth century that any attention was paid by Spain to this province which, potentially, was one of the richest of all. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century Argentina, like the rest of the Spanish republics, achieved her independence, and since then Cinderella has developed into the Princess.

In many respects, it is the richest and most progressive of all the South-American republics. Brazil is the only one that can compete with Argentina, and that largely because of her vastly greater territory and larger population. There is far more *per capita* wealth, doubtless, in Argentina than in any South-American country, and Buenos Ayres must rank as one of the greatest cities of the world from whatever point we view it. It has the distinction of being a record city in more respects than one. It is the largest Spanish-speaking city in the world, the second largest Latin city, the largest of all in South America, while only two in North America exceed her in population.

Argentina is beyond everything else a great agricultural state. For 175 miles the transcontinental railroad runs without a turn or a curve over an absolutely straight and level plain, and there is but one bend in this road for several hundred miles. It is

one continuous, uninterrupted wheat-field or pasture—a field and pasture of the richest soil known to man, unless it be in our own Mississippi Valley. Thus it is pre-eminently the agricultural state of South America, and while Buenos Ayres is a city of vast commercial importance, and though it counts within its boundaries more millionaires, probably, than any city in the world, certainly of its size, the wealth of these millionaires and the commercial importance of the city depend upon the great fields of grain and the vast pastures for cattle which stretch interminably north and south and west from the city on La Plata.

URUGUAY.

Uruguay, the smallest of the South-American states, except Peru, has fewer distinctive characteristics than most of her sisters. She is largely one great cattle range. Her wealth consists in her flocks and herds, and her one port of importance, Montevideo, gives her an outlet, happily situated, to command a considerable portion of the trade of the continent.

If we sought for a distinctive name, she might be called “The Land of Revolutions,” though she shares this dubious distinction with a number of her sister republics. It is said that there has been, on the average, a revolution every two years in Uruguay since her escape from the dominion of Spain, some ninety years ago. If this is not an absolutely exact tally, it is because they come so often that the count has been lost. Of late years, however, Uruguay, together with the other South-American states, has shown far more stability than her best friends believed was possible for her mercurial people, and there is really a happy vista of prosperity before her.

PARAGUAY.

Her neighbor, Paraguay, a thousand miles up the River Plate, must be reckoned with the backward and unprogressive states of South America. This is partly due to her isolated position, which shuts her off even more thoroughly from the rest of the world than Bolivia, but her checkered and unhappy history has much to do with her present condition. Few countries have been more unfortunate in their rulers than Paraguay. Though a republic in name for the last ninety years, she has been much of the time under the control of heartless and selfish dictators. Dr. Francia was one of the most odious tyrants that ever wielded, under the name of president, the supreme power of dictator. He was first

chosen, like Napoleon, whom he seemed to emulate, one of the two consuls of Paraguay. He soon pushed the other consul out of the way and became the absolute monarch of this little state. He had himself declared "Supreme Perpetual Dictator" and assumed the title "El Supremo."

His strange power has thus been graphically described:

"As he grew older, he became more solitary and ferocious. . . . His severities against the educated classes increased. He suffered from frequent attacks of hypochondria. He ordered wholesale executions, and when he died seven hundred political prisoners filled the jails. His moroseness increased year by year. He feared assassination and occupied several houses, letting no one know where he was going to sleep from one night to another and when walking the streets kept his guards at a distance before and behind. Woe to the enemy or suspect that attracted his attention! Such was the terror inspired by the dreadful old man that the news that he was out would clear the streets. A white Paraguayan dared not utter his name. During his lifetime he was 'El Supremo,' and after he was dead for generations he was referred to simply as 'El Defunto.' For years when men spoke of him they looked behind them and crossed themselves as if dreading that the mighty old man could send devils to spy upon them—at least this is the story of Francia's enemies, who have made it their business to hand his name down to execration."

He was succeeded by a still more terrible tyrant, Francisco Lopez, who embroiled his country in war with Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. Probably no such bloody and relentless war has been recorded in modern history as this. It lasted for six years, from 1864-1870, and no less than 225,000 Paraguayan men and 100,000 adult women died in battle or of hardships and hunger. At the close of the war less than 25,000 men survived, and the women outnumbered the men five to one. For years all cultivation of the ground was brought almost to a standstill. There was no one to till the fields or care for the cattle, and though Paraguay is recovering and is enjoying a comparatively decent government to-day, it may still be considered the sorrowful sister of South America, mourning for the devoted men and women and children who were sacrificed to the lust of a bloody and unscrupulous tyrant.

BRAZIL.

It is pleasant to turn from such scenes of carnage and destruction to "Brazil, the Boundless," a country larger than the United States of America outside of Alaska, and a country with resources as varied and wealth as great, though still undeveloped,

as our own great republic. Here, on the lowlands or the high table-lands, grows everything that the temperate or tropical zones can furnish. Here are found vast waterways, great prairies and splendid cities; diamonds and precious stones, minerals and tropical products, and all things that make a country prosperous and powerful.

The development of Brazil has been far more happy and peaceful, on the whole, than that of the Spanish-speaking republics. She has never been cursed by the gold-seekers as they have, and for more than one hundred years has enjoyed a comparatively quiet and peaceful development.

Though nominally an empire, under the rule of Dom Pedro I and good Dom Pedro II, her citizens enjoyed great liberty of travel, of business and of conscience as well, and when the time came that Brazil thought she might as well set up a republic of her own, and no longer enjoy the distinction of being the only monarchy in America, the transition was effected without the shedding of a drop of blood. The good Emperor did not seek to rally a single regiment of soldiers to defend his throne, but quietly went on board the ship provided for him and sailed for Portugal, carrying in his heart a deep and abiding love for Brazil and, in spite of his dethronement, the respect and affection of the Brazilians.

Brazil is still largely an undeveloped nation, a country of illimitable resources and vast possibilities. Considering her territory, her undeveloped wealth or her opportunities to expand in the future, we may well call her "Brazil, the Boundless." In her coffee plantations alone, which practically supply the world, Brazil has a source of almost incalculable wealth.

Of all capitals that I have ever visited, Rio de Janeiro impressed me as the most beautiful for situation and with the largest possibilities for future growth. The architecture of the new Rio is superb. Within the last six years the great city has waked up, has banished "Yellow Jack," has greatly increased her wealth and population, has built miles of new streets through the very heart of the old city and has become "the City Beautiful" of the two Americas.

VENEZUELA.

But one more republic remains to be considered in this hasty purview of the eleven independent nationalities of South America.

This is the "Bad Boy" of the continent, the republic of Venezuela. Here, too, are great resources, abundant undeveloped wealth of all kinds, but an unprogressive, rebellious people, led by stiff-necked rulers. Though Castro's government has come to an end, and he is succeeded by a milder despot, yet the whole idea of government and of the dignity of a republic must be taught to this people before it can be worthy of a place in the family of nations.

Relying for immunity from chastisement upon its insignificance and inaccessibility, Venezuela has presumed upon the patience of the civilized powers more than any other country in the world. That it has escaped a whipping so long is accounted for by the same reason that the teacher often neglects to see what the "bad boy" is doing, lest the correction give him too much trouble and too largely distract the attention of the rest of the school.

I have tried to make plain in this brief account of the individuality of the South-American republics what I have learned from actually visiting most of them—that they cannot be understood unless they are studied sympathetically and each one as an integral factor among the nations of the world. You cannot reason from one to another. You cannot learn what Argentina will do or be by studying Venezuela or Colombia. The story of the development of Bolivia gives no clue to the future of Paraguay. As I have already said, they are as distinctive in their national characteristics, their aspirations, their hopes and their patriotism as the countries of Europe that lie side by side and occupy a much smaller territory than South America.

While their development will doubtless have many features in common, and while some of the republics will keep step with each other near the advance-guard of civilization, others will lag far behind. The differences between them will doubtless be accentuated more in the future than in the past. Eventually one or more of these stronger republics may so dominate and overshadow the weaker ones as to absorb their commerce and thus unite them under one flag; but that day is far distant, and doubtless any one of them, even the weakest and poorest, would to-day fight to the bitter end and die in the last ditch rather than haul down its own beloved flag or yield allegiance to any other nation.

FRANCIS E. CLARK.